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AN ORATION

DELIVERED AT

QUEENS, (JAMAICA,) L.I.

ON JULY 4TH, 1861,

BY

JOHN J. ARMSTRONG, ESQ.,

OF JAMAICA, L. I.

JAMAICA, L. I.

JAMES J. BRENTON, PRINTER

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(CORRESPONDENCE.)

QUEENS, JULY 8, 1861.

JOHN J. ARMSTRONG, ESQ.,

Dear Sir :—In compliance with the request of a number of our citizens, we solicit for publication, a copy of the interesting and patriotic oration delivered by you at the celebration of the anniversary of American Independence by the "Union Sabbath School" of this Village.

We believe its general circulation would be highly acceptable to all.

Very truly yours,

ABRAHAM H. SMITH,

DANIEL HENDRICKSON,

JACOB S. BERGEN,

JACOB CARPENTER,

DANIEL H. CARPENTER,

ABRAHAM A. HENDRICKSON,

THOMAS CALLISTER.

JAMAICA, JULY 11, 1861.

Gentlemen :

Herewith I send you a copy of my oration, as requested in yours of the 8th inst.

Be pleased to accept my thanks for the complimentary manner in which you have communicated to me the wishes of those whom you represent.

With great respect, I remain,

Yours truly,

JNO. J. ARMSTRONG.

To Abm. H. Smith, Jacob S. Bergen, and others.

ORATION.

Memorable indeed, is the day we celebrate, in the annals of our country—consecrated as it is to patriotic impulses and proud recollections. It marks the commencement of our existence as a nation, and a new era in the government of the world. It is a day when the friends of constitutional liberty and self government should cheerfully lay aside their differences of opinion, and with one common voice unite in demonstrations like this ; and when all should assemble not only to pay fitting honors to the memory of those noble men, who here erected the Temple of Liberty, but also to ponder upon the great theme of American Freedom, to consider how it was won, by what means it has been maintained, and above all, how it may be preserved.

We come not to applaud our own works but to pay a deserved tribute of gratitude and respect to those, by whose noble and successful efforts, the rights of man were vindicated and won. They felt that their struggles were not alone for themselves, but for their children and posterity. The most they could promise themselves was that having placed upon this soil the tree of Liberty and moistened its roots with their blood, that their children would gather fruit from its branches, while they slept in peace beneath its shade.

The event we meet to commemorate is all important not merely as it relates to us as a people ; but as it marks one of the great epochs in the history of the world. In the histories of conquerors and princes, there may be

much to condemn, and perhaps but little in which the world around us, takes an interest ; but in the history of Liberty, of men struggling to be free, of those movements by which Freedom is established and perpetuated, there is an interest both deep and genuine, and this interest is felt by us as a nation because we live under a form of government, more favorable to its diffusion than any the world has ever known.

Far-distant be the period when the "Fourth of July" shall be forgotten, or when the American people will consent that it may be unnoticed. It carries us back to the time, when greater perils than now, environed the land, and when a stronger bond of feeling and action united the people. It calls from their beds of glory and peace, the hosts who bled in the sacred cause, and who this day gather around us, in saddened majesty and imploringly beseech us by their sufferings and death, not to permit our dissensions to destroy the Liberty they purchased with their lives. It came to us

" Not in the sunshine and smiles of Heaven,
But wrapt in whirlwinds and begirt with woes."

Let us not forget those whose hands reared the temple in which we have reposed with safety and security for so great a period of time and whose blood consecrates the ground upon which it stands. And so too let us cherish respect and reverence for the unnumbered and unknown ones, who poured out their life's blood in the ranks ; who followed the call of duty and of patriotism to the cannon's mouth and who were never prompted by any sordid or ambitious motive ; who pined in loathsome prison ships, or languished with the diseases of the camp ; and who, having returned from their country's service with broken fortunes and ruined constitutions, sank into early graves.

"How sleep the brave, who sink to rest
 With all their country's wishes blest !
 When Spring with dewy fingers cold
 Returns to deck their hallowed mould,
 She there shall dress a sweeter sod
 Than fancy's feet have ever trod.
 There Honor comes a pilgrim gray
 To bless the turf, that wraps their clay,
 And Freedom shall a while repair
 To dwell a weeping hermit there."

Eighty-five years have elapsed since the glorious announcement was made to the world that as a people we were "and of right ought to be free and independent." A crude confederacy has been supplanted by a Constitutional Union, forming a free and happy government, where all are protected and none oppressed, where labor is bountifully rewarded, where learning is encouraged and the arts and sciences fostered, where each man can worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and where want in the abodes of honest and virtuous industry is unknown.

We need not repeat the oft-told and familiar record of the deeds and sufferings of the men of '76. The world knows it. While of other statesman and patriots the pen of historians have differed, we may feel proud that of those by whose privations and efforts, this "goodly land of ours" was established, every nation and every pen yield the grateful tribute of love, and pay to their memories the devotion due to their glorious deeds. And when those who now inhabit these "United States" are numbered with the dead, may there be found a countless multitude who will regard with reverence and esteem the "Fathers of the Republic" and cherish their names as the safeguards of Liberty, and from millions of hearts may there ever ascend to Almighty God, a fervent prayer for the welfare of our country and the perpetuity of her institutions.

The change produced in the affairs of our native land,

since we became an organized government, has been such as no other people or nation ever experienced. Then we were weak and without any great experience in self-government. Now thirty-four stars glitter upon our nation's ensign, and as a people we are great enough, and powerful enough, to repel all assaults upon the American Constitution, whether they come from foreign powers, who are jealous of our strength, or from internal parricides, who basely seek to destroy the source of their prosperity and happiness. Education with all of its blessed influences has widely disseminated the seeds of virtue, intelligence and patriotism—so that it may be truly said that our love for our country is guided by knowledge. Here the sons of toil and oppression find shelter and refuge, and our privileges both civil and religious, remain full of their pristine vigor and beauty. Our general welfare is written in letters of shining light upon every temple dedicated to the worship of the true and living God ; is shaddowed forth from every school, academy and college in the land ; is seen in the din incident to every commercial mart, and in the productive fields of those who are the tillers of the soil. It speaks from the bright eye and honest countenance of every virtuous and law-abiding citizen, in the joyous shout of childhood and the tender tones of woman's gentle nature.

" Oh ! surely a high destiny, which we alone can mar,
Is figured in the horoscope, where shines our risen star.
The monarchs all are looking on, in hopes some flaw to see
Among the yet unbroken links, that guard our Liberty ;
But may we disappoint the hopes of every despot lord
And keep our Union's Gordian knot uncut by faction's sword,
And as with those girt of yore, new provinces are twined,
Still let us with fresh hands of love, the sheaf of Freedom bind "

It is time however, that we turn from these meditations, pleasant as they may be, to consider some of the practical truths taught in the success of our country. It is not enough for us to know that as a nation we are

great and powerful. We should know how and by what means this greatness has been attained, and upon what principles the foundation of our Republic was placed. Let us then consider these topics and learn the source of our power and the means by which the nation may be saved from the danger that now threatens it.

When the Revolution had been brought to a successful termination and the separation of our country from Great Britain been consummated, it remained to organize and perpetuate the independence which the men of that period had secured, and to establish a government by which the great design of the seven years conflict would be accomplished, and thus satisfy the demands of the friends of Freedom in other parts of the world. On the one hand there was danger that the colonies in the act of declaring themselves separate and independent states would go to the extreme and refuse to admit any authority beyond the limits of each particular State. And on the other hand there was danger of placing too much power in one general government.

Upon the successful termination of these two difficulties depended the great benefit of the Revolution. The articles of confederation had proven too weak, and as soon as the war ceased, their inadequacy was felt. The country was in debt ; but they had no power by which the means for its payment could be obtained. Rich in the materials of commerce, they were without the ability to collect a revenue. And although the country was filled with the elements of wealth, yet it wanted the means to pay the ordinary expenses of government. The distinguished authors of the *Federalist* thus stated the condition of the colonies at this period :—

“ Each state yielding to the voice of immediate interest, or convenience successively withdrew its support from

the confederation, till the frail and tottering edifice was ready to fall upon our heads and crush us beneath its ruins."

It remained then to give tone and effect to all that had been done for the cause of Liberty, and to organize a government, by which the efforts and trials of the men who bled in Freedom's cause should not be in vain and by which the principles of a free and liberal government might be perpetuated. Such was the task that the statesmen, who formed the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and of which George Washington was the President, performed. How well it was done, the success of the United States under that Constitution is the best witness.

Their first step was one of pain and regret. The old confederation was to be abandoned—what doubts and fears must this have excited. True, it was weak, but it had carried them through the war. Could the new government do better than the old one? And who could say when the flag of the old thirteen was struck, that the hearts of the people could be rallied to another?

The world had almost settled down into the idea that an hereditary monarchy, was necessary to give strength and efficiency to the executive power. Those who framed our Constitution denied this and made provision for the election of a chief magistrate once in every four years.

In other countries, rank and distinction secured influence and power; but the framers of our Constitution established justice and equality—placed the elective franchise where it might be exercised by every citizen, and at the same time permitting all to contend for positions of trust and power.

The governments of the old world had deemed it necessary that there should be but one political head, to-

wards which all power must tend, and at which it should be exercised. Those who made our Constitution devised a plan of confederated and sovereign states, (united in a happy distribution of power) in which they reserved to the states everything necessary to local administration, and gave to the general government, those and those only, which were requisite for the whole. The object of this they declared to be “to form a *more perfect Union*, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence and secure the blessings of Liberty,” to themselves and their posterity.

Thus was completed the work of the Revolution, and thus it was that our fathers discharged the duties they owed to themselves, their country and the world. A distinguished son of Massachusetts (the Hon. R. C. Winthrop,) thus speaks of the Constitution :

“Like one of those wondrous rocking stones reared by the Druid’s which the finger of a child may vibrate to the centre, yet the might of an army could not move from its place, our Constitution is so nicely poised, that it seems to sway with every breath of opinion, yet so firmly rooted in the breast and affections of the people, that the wildest storm of treason and fanaticism break over it in vain.”

In this work there lurks no gem of secession. They organized a government, but did not provide that any restive or uneasy member might be at liberty, only so long as it suited her fancy, to remain *within* the Union, and then be permitted to withdraw and break up the government. No State has the right to withdraw itself from the Union at pleasure—the same formality which forged the links of the Union, is necessary to dissolve it. Think you that as a nation, we would ever have become what we are, if the doctrine of “secession” had been the theory of our government? Neither in the

management of our domestic and internal affairs, nor in the regulation of our foreign difficulties, could we with such a doctrine maintain our position, or uphold the honor of the flag. Admit such a principle and you at once destroy that confidence so necessary for foreign nations to have, and weaken the tie by which the States are kept together. Secession tears to pieces our whole fabric of government and makes sad havoc with the glorious recollections of the past. Andrew Jackson—than whom there was none more honest, more independent or more patriotic—in his message upon the nullification question declared that—

“The right of the people of a single State to absolve themselves at will and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations and hazard the liberties of the millions composing this Union, *cannot be acknowledged*. To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States is not a nation.”

Our Constitution was the work of the best talent, the purest patriotism and the most comprehensive minds, that the country then or ever since has possessed. It is therefore a question whether an instrument so important shall be destroyed ; whether this “Union of hearts and Union of hands,” shall be subverted, and “the flag of our Union,” give way to the representative of the pelican and the rattle-snake. No, my countrymen, if there breathes in the hearts of the people one spark of patriotism, one single ray of love for the memories of the past, one faint whispering of reverence for the names of Washington, of Jefferson, of Adams and their co-laborers, this infamous dogma of “secession,” will be destroyed *and that forever*. Never breath it save with indignation and contempt. Let all who march under its banner beware. The day will come—and that soon—when it will become

to them an unceasing reproach, and when they will be ready to call upon the rocks and mountains to hide them from the contempt of an outraged people.

This Union, the result of the Revolution and the statesmanship of those by whom the Constitution was framed, is no ordinary gift. Purchased as it was at the expense of toil and suffering, it has been preserved by care and watchfulness. It imposes upon each citizen duties of a high and responsible nature, and such as no individual or set of men should hesitate to perform. It will not be enough for us to guard with care and attention the bonds by which the Union may be kept safe from "faction's sword," in order that we may enjoy the blessings it confers ; but it is a duty we owe those who shall come after us, that we transmit it to them unimpaired and full of vigor.

When we remember that the example of America has aroused in other lands a longing and thirsting desire for Liberty ; that our conduct as a nation operates as a powerful precedent the world over, we can appreciate the importance of the position assigned us by Providence and the magnitude of the trust confided to our care. By showing to the world a united, conciliatory and determined spirit we give to the United States a far better eulogium than we can by words, however eloquent or appropriate they may be. We give then a living example, worthy of imitation, and one by which others may be induced to follow in the footsteps of freedom and civilization.

Remember too, that the greatest engine of moral power, known to human affairs, is an organized, prosperous and united people. All that man in his individual capacity can do—all that he can effect by his ingenious discoveries and wonders of art, is but little when compar-

ed with the marked influence on human affairs and human happiness of a well-constituted, free and united people—such as ours was designed to be, and such as we have it in our power to make it. Acting thus we are enabled to sow wide the seeds of intelligence, civilization and liberty, and the world at large made the better by our influence and example.

Break up the Union ! Who would dare to enter upon a work so disastrous and deplorable in its results ? If it were possible so to bury a magazine as to blast the continent into atoms, it would hardly produce the horrors incident to the dissolution of this Union and the overthrow of the government. Those horrors would not be confined to this continent, but would span the world. The bloodiest conflict that ere marked the history of any nation, would not equal that one in which the liberties of the American people was lost. We are told that

“Freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell,”

But when America falls, then liberty

“Sighing from her seat through all her works
Will give signs of wo, THAT ALL IS LOST.”

And then it will be, that the expressive lines of Moore will appropriately represent the scene upon which the traveller will gaze with grief—

“The harp that once through Tara’s halls
The soul of music shed,
Now hangs as mute on Tara’s walls
As if that soul was fled.

No more to chiefs and ladies bright
The harp of Tara swells.
The chord that breaks alone at night
Its tale of ruin tells.

Thus freedom now so seldom wakes,
The only throb she gives
Is when some heart indignant breaks
To show that she still lives.”

But sir, the time for America to decline, has not yet arrived, nor will it come, so long as there remain hearts and arms, capable of loving and defending her from the assaults of her adversaries. Let those who desire her ruin plot as they may, they will find millions ready to defend not only the institutions of our land, but to punish the arch agitators, as their crimes justly deserve.

There are too many glorious memories ; too much of bright promise and of hope associated with this Union, to leave any one indifferent to its fate, or with a desire for its ruin. It has nobly and well served the design of those who built it, and has given to the world the best evidence of its power. Those who established it, erected a monument of fame and glory, as enduring as time itself. It has been confided to our hands, to protect it from the assaults of the spoiler and adorn it with the garlands of veneration, fidelity and affection. Those wise and good men lighted on our country's altar, the fire of Freedom, left it burning brightly and gave to us the injunction to keep it perpetual. If now we betray our trust, and make ours the hand to tear down the monument here erected and extinguish that fire, and the heaviest vengeance of Heaven, be not visited upon us, it will only be because the Divine Ruler of the Universe will manifest his power, more through his attribute of mercy than of justice.

This monument shall not be destroyed. We will not do it ourselves, nor will we permit others to do it. Let the sentiments of the following ode, sang in the city of Charleston, S. C., July 4, 1831, [oh ! that it could be repeated there to day] be the promise and desire of every American heart :

“ By our altars pure and free
By our laws deep-rooted tree

By the past's dread memory
 By our Washington !
 By our common parent tongue
 By our hopes, bright, bouyant, young
 By the tie of country strong
 We will still be one.

Fathers ! have ye bled in vain ?
 Ages ! must we droop again ?
 Maker ! must we rashly stain
 Blessings sent by thee ?
 No ! receive our solemn vow
 While before thy throne we bow
 Ever to maintain as now
 " Union—Liberty." "

Our independence was achieved not alone that we might live separate from Great Britain, or that we could have a country to which the appellation of our "own dear native land," might be appropriately given. They who laid the foundation of this government were men who knew full well that Liberty could not dwell where virtue, intelligence and truth were not found. While therefore we should esteem it our highest privilege to extend those principles, we should also see that respect for and obedience to the laws enacted by the duly constituted authorities, should be made a cardinal doctrine with all classes of men. We may regard the particular statute to be unjust and even tyrannical, but so long as it remains upon the statute book, our duty is, submission, if not respect. To inculcate the idea that laws may be obeyed or not at the pleasure of any body of men, is to countenance the spirit of nullification, and when this is done, it is quite difficult to determine at what point the evil would stop. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" depend upon our observance of the laws. The fitness of a people for self-government is best exhibited in a ready, willing and prompt submission to the will of the majority when expressed in the form and manner required by the Constitution. Let a spirit of rebellion become rampant in the land—let the authority of the

Constitution be denied and soon you will find your legislative bodies broken up and political chieftains and demagogues appealing from the will of the people to the power of the sword. Those wise and good men who organized our government were too sagacious not to see and too prudent not to provide, a remedy for such a difficulty.

Our system is so framed that if unwise laws are enacted, or incompetent men chosen to office, that the people can, at the proper time, repeal the one and remove the other. Those men who teach the doctrine of resistance to the law, are dangerous leaders, and are not deserving the sympathy or confidence of those who believe that the people have in their power and in the manner provided by the Constitution, all that is requisite to remedy whatever may be wrong or unjust.

Let us remember that the liberty our ancestors here established, and the blessings we have for eighty-five years enjoyed, were based upon the idea of submission to the "powers that be." Fidelity to the laws of the land, a generous and cordial support of all of the requirements of the Constitution and the laws enacted under it, and a frowning down of every effort to introduce resistance to the constituted authorities, must and should be the course adopted by all those who desire the success of free institutions and a wise government.

With us the people are sovereigns, and hence it is, that all attempts to disregard the law, are not only bad in their tendency, but altogether unnecessary. The doctrine of the "divine right of kings," draws after it obedience to an arbitrary and even despotic power, and perchance of unlimited oppression. The adoption of the "Declaration of Independence" and the American Constitution destroyed this right, as it was regarded to be

opposed to the interests of the people. We believe that all government should be based upon a compact between the supreme authority and its subjects ; and that the great design of the government should be the happiness of the governed. Under this theory, the property of the humblest citizen is protected, the rights of all carefully guarded, and the national power becomes fixed, effective and immoveable. Under this system there can be no favored few. Wealth and ancestral fame are not the sole means by which promotion is secured. The road to preferment is open to all, and the history of the past teaches us that the individual who has an honest heart, and clear mind and a persevering industry to aid him—though fortune or fame never smiled upon him—is certain to obtain that position his merits deserve. The people are not slow to search out all such and reward them. In truth and in fact our government is our people. It is founded upon the authority of opinion, is upheld by the virtue and intelligence of the masses, and becomes at once a government of intelligence, humanity and peace. Because of this our foundation has been laid upon Freedom, our nation has been sustained in every hour of danger by the virtue and intelligence of the masses, and our great strength has been our equality.

It is time that we consider other questions. We have seen that the “ Constitution, the Union and the enforcement of the laws,” have proven the source of our strength in the past, and have undoubtedly been the means of placing us in the front rank among the nations of the earth, and of making our influence felt wherever and whenever the occasion required. How is it to day ? Has that Constitution lost its influence and power ? Has that Union ceased to control by its benign and sacred influence ? And have the laws lost their restraining and protecting power ? Why is it this day, that in every

part of the United States, there is not an awakening of the people to do honor to the natal day of American Independence? Why is that the sound of tumult rings through the land to day, and the tramp of marching squadrons is heard, and the roar of the artillery startles the nation with its death-dealing sound? Who has broken the peace, and now seeks to break down the Constitution, destroy the Union and trample upon the laws of the land? Examine with a careful and candid mind the present condition of national affairs and answer these questions as the truth shall demand.

Whither away does our good ship drift?
 Sentinels whither away?
 Do you see her shrouds through the storms dark rift?
 Do the breezes still her pennons lift,
 In the midst of the shadows gray?
 Oh! whither does our good ship drift?
 Sentinels, whither away?

Oh! tell us where does our good ship drift?
 Of its unknown dangers tell.
 Can you see her afloat, through the tempests rift?
 Does her proud flag, still to the sunbeams lift?
 Oh! say will it yet be well?

Aye! aye! there's the chime of a fearless song,
 From the seas through which we view her
 On her noble yard, there's a clustering throng,
 "She will right!" "She will right!" for their hands are strong,
 And their trust in God is sure."

Do you ask me what is the cause of this uprising of the people? And what is the principle for which they abandon the endearments and charms of home, for the dangers and difficulties of the soldier's life? It is because they feel that the Union of these States has been endangered by the efforts of ambitious and designing men, and that it must at all hazards be preserved and maintained. They look upon that Union as Washington did, and regard it "as the main pillar in the edifice of our real independence, the support of our tranquility at

home, our safety, our prosperity, of that very liberty we so highly prize."

Men have forgotten their little feuds in the perils of the Constitution. The afflicted voice of the country in its hour of danger has charmed down with sweet persuasion the angry passions of the day ; and all feel that they have no heart to discuss minor topics, when the infinitely more momentous and solemn question is before them—"must the Union perish?"

Strange, passing strange, that amid all our increase of territory—our boasted intelligence and virtue—our power and glory—regardless of the hallowed memories of the past, forgetful of the present and altogether unmindful of the future—the Satanic proposition should be advanced of a dissolution of these States.

"Palsied be the lips that frame it,
Helpless fall the foeman's arm
Turn his fiercest strength to weakness,
Who would do a brother harm.
And O God ! wilt thou take vengeance
On whoever by word or deed
Broadcast o'er our noble country
Sowed dis-union's fruitful seed?
Curse the tongue
Of old or young
Who shouts the battle-cry "secede."

They who have raised the standard of rebellion and resistance to the Federal authority, stand without excuse or justification for their madness and folly. All of their rights under the Constitution were secure and it was not in the power of those having the management of affairs—even if they desired it, of which there is no evidence—to do them any harm. Without waiting to know the policy of the government, and without consulting the people, a class of designing and ambitious men hurried the seceding States into rebellion. They knew that unless the horrid din of battle was commenced, their schemes

would be frustrated. They therefore seized the first opportunity of collision with the Federal authority—so that under the panic and feeling connected with such an event, they might the more easily and successfully appeal to the passions and prejudices of their people. Fort Sumter afforded the excuse. Its provisions were nearly exhausted and the President, as it was his duty, sought to furnish food to the brave men within its walls. In the name of humanity and peace, he informed those besieging the fort of this desire, stating that the provisions would be sent by an unarmed vessel. This however would not answer their purpose, nor could they wait until the gallant Anderson had been starved out—they sought the humiliation of the government and the dishonoring of the flag that floated so proudly o’er the walls of Sumter. The result is known. For more than twenty-four hours a heavy cannonade was directed against the fort, and after the noble band within it had defended it, as none but Americans could do, the gallant officer in command evacuated his post and left the broken walls of that fort as the first movement of the maddening effort to destroy the government ; but he brought with him his glorious flag, and saluted it, as he left his rock bound prison. The firing at that flag, touched a chord too near the American heart, not to be resented.

That flag was the one the patriots of old loved and blessed, and which they compelled their proud enemy to acknowledge and respect. It is the symbol of our independence and glory—“the gorgeous ensign of the republic,” so long “known and honored throughout the world.” What precious associations cluster around it ! Through what clouds of dust and smoke—what storms of shot and shell—what scenes of fire and blood,—has it not passed. Wherever it has gone, it has been the pride of its friends and the terror of its foes. How many

heroes has it folded in death, and with what joy has the American in foreign lands gazed upon its stars and stripes, and there read the history of his nation's glory, and drawn from it, the inspiration of patriotism—

“Flag of the free ! on ocean wave
Thy stars shall glitter o'er the brave ;
When death careering on the gale,
Sweeps darkly round the bellied sail,
And frightened waves rush wildly back
Before the broadsides reeling rack,
Each dying wonder of the sea
Shall look at once to heaven and thee,
And smile to see thy splendors fly
In triumph o'er his closing eye.

Flag of the free ! heart's hope and home !
By angel hands to valor given :
Thy stars have lit the welkin dome
And all thy hues were born in heaven.]
Forever float that standard sheet,
Where breathes the foe but falls before us ?
With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,
And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us.”

Following in quick succession the attempt to dishonor the flag, the conspirators in their work of mischief have gone from one degree of wickedness and baseness, until they themselves dread the result.

The history of the present effort to break up this Union and subvert the government is a history of repeated usurpations, having in view the establishment of a dangerous form of government “over these States.” “To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.”

In consequence of it the nation has been plunged into a civil war ; the trade and business of the country seriously interfered with, if not destroyed ; many of the peaceful pursuits of life broken up ; and above all the perpetuity of our fair government seriously jeopardized.

The public property has been seized and in some instances destroyed ; the lives of those commissioned to defend that property have been menaced, and alas ! that

I should be compelled to say, been taken because of their fidelity to their country ; and it has turned upon the high seas a band of men whose business it is to prey upon the vessels and property of those who trade under the American flag.

It has induced those who have embraced its doctrine to repudiate their just and honest debts, and holds those who prefer to live patriotic and honest lives as guilty of a high offence and deserving of punishment.

It ignores the right of the people—the doctrine being, as stated by Mason of Virginia, that all who do not favor secession “must leave the State.” Freedom of speech is denied the people, unless it is employed to aid the cause of rebellion.

It has become intolerant and overbearing ; has involved the States in which it exists, in a war where success to them is hopeless and must ultimately lead to the ruin of the people ; it is “now waging war against us” ; and has constrained our fellow citizens “to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.”

More might be added, but I forbear.

The effort cannot prove successful. The patriotic fire and indignation of a whole people has been aroused, and this day, we behold the painful yet glorious fact, that the citizens of the North, East, and West, are prepared by an appeal to arms, if necessary, to defend the Union and see that the laws are enforced.

“ The grand old earth shakes at the tread of the men
Who meet as of old, in the defence of the true ;
All hail to the stars that are set in their banner.
All hail to the red, the white and the blue.
The prayers of fair women like legions of angels
Watch over our soldiers by day and by night,

And the king of all glory, the chief of all armies,
 Shall love them, and lead them, who dare to be right.
 As each column wheels by
 Hear their hearts battle cry
 " 'Tis sweet for our country to die." "

They who are engaged in this contest upon the side of the government are not imbued with hatred against the South. The question is one not about the North, or any other portion of the country, but whether a part of the people of one section shall be permitted to overthrow the property, blessings and government of every section of the same land. The glistening bayonet and the steady tread of thousands now upon the "sacred soil" of the rebellious people, are there for the purpose of protecting and defending the flag and the government. No excesses mark their progress and no rights of persons or property will be invaded—unless those rights and that property are interposed to shield treason.

While we obey the Constitution and the laws, let them do the same thing. No burden is imposed upon them, that does not fall upon us, and we ask for no privileges that they may not enjoy. Their country is ours, and ours is theirs. And that unity of government and country so long our pride, we could not without self loathing destroy—nor can we permit them to do it.

Civil war under all circumstances is a terrible calamity and yet from the selfish and designing course of ambitious men, the best governments have not escaped. But there are things as bad. To have star after star taken from our banner; to have stripe after stripe erased or obscured; to have our fair women weep and our brave men blush, for the fall of their nation—these are as bad as the other. They who have rendered a resort to arms necessary in order to strike for our "altars and sires," for "God and our native land," have incurred a fearful amount of guilt. May we not adopt the prayer of John

Hampden—who turning aside from proffered titles, to devote his time and great talents to the popular cause, and while dying of his wounds exclaimed—“ Oh ! Lord save my bleeding country ! Confound and level in the dust those who would rob the people of their liberty and lawful prerogative.”

No contest so momentous as this has ever arisen. The ordeal through which the people are passing, must involve great suffering and loss ; but who is not prepared to endure the one and submit to the other, if thereby the land we so fondly love may be saved from destruction ? If your government is destroyed what protection have you for your property or your person ?

There are, I doubt not, thousands in the South, who would this very hour, if they dare, celebrate this day ; but the same influence by which their states were driven into the vortex of secession, closes their lips and makes them the unwilling victims of a dogma they loath and despise. It is therefore as much the duty of the government to relieve this Union sentiment from the oppression under which it is now placed, as it is to maintain its own authority in those states, or to plant the flag among those who once worshipped beneath its folds.

However unfortunate the issue, we must be careful that the trials and dangers through which our fathers passed as well as the sacrifices they made, have not been in vain. This government is the work of their hands, the fruit of their toils, and the price of their lives freely given, in order that their descendants might here enjoy a government worthy of the adoration and love of succeeding generations. Bravely they dared ; patiently and heroically they struggled ; and side by side they fell, invoking Heaven’s blessing upon the cause in which they were engaged.

While, therefore, we do our duty as men and patriots, may we not hope that the madness and folly that now fires the brain of those fighting against the government will soon pass away, and they return to their allegiance, ere the dreadful shock of battle shall overwhelm them? But if they will not do this, and shall defy the power by which they have been protected, then let the arm raised more in pity than anger, smite them, and let the blows be sharp, quick, powerful and effective. All that we hold sacred is involved in this contest and if true to our country and her flag, we are safe; but if we hesitate or doubt, as to our duty now, the waves of faction and disorder may sweep over us, carrying with them the glory and honor of our common Union.

Do you ask me what your duty is now? You are bound by every principle of justice to sustain the honor, maintain the integrity of the government, and defend with unflinching fidelity the Constitution. By every means in your power "at every hazard and by every sacrifice this Union must be preserved." Lukewarmness, indifference, or unconcern is to be deprecated. This Union cemented by the blood of patriots, the pride of America and the wonder of the World, must not be sacrificed to the designing motives and the ambitious hearts, of those who prefer to destroy if they cannot rule. There is left but one path of duty for those who truly and devotedly love the Union—that duty brings them to the support of the government, the execution of the laws, and the protection of the Union—

" By every sacred name,
By every glorious song,
By all we know and love of fame,
Our Country, right or wrong."

Pause my friends and listen to the voices that come from the graves of American patriots. They are words of warning, as well as of command. Who is bold enough to despise them ?

From the grave at Mount Vernon there is heard a voice deep-toned and solemn—"LET THERE BE NO CHANGE BY USURPATION—IT IS THE CUSTOMARY WEAPON BY WHICH FREE GOVERNMENTS ARE DESTROYED."

From the "Hermitage," where repose the remains of Jackson, there comes a voice, whose tone is clear and distinct. The words are few, but oh ! what courage do they inspire—"THE UNION,—IT MUST BE PRESERVED."

From Ashland, where the honored form of Clay sleeps there floats in silvery notes, the patriotic declaration—"I OWE A PARAMOUNT ALLEGIANCE TO THE WHOLE UNION."

From Marshfield, where rests in solemn grandeur the "last of earth" of the defender of the Constitution, I hear the majestic tones of his voice, uttering that ever-to-be remembered sentiment—"LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOREVER, ONE AND INSEPARABLE."

And from the new made grave, upon which the tears of a sorrowing people, have not yet ceased to fall, there comes an injunction full of meaning. It is the legacy left by Douglas, to his sons—"SUPPORT THE CONSTITUTION AND OBEY THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES."

These with other patriot voices are this day sounding all over the land calling up the people to action and duty. And from the council-chambers of those who

founded our institutions ; from every battle-field rendered sacred to the cause of American Liberty ; and from the lips of millions of patriotic freemen, the response goes forth not only that the Union **MUST**, but that it **SHALL** be preserved.

“ Sail on ! O Ship of State !
 Sail on ! O Union, strong and great !
 * * * * * * *
 We know what master laid thy keel,
 What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
 Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
 What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
 In what a forge, in what a heat
 Were shaped, the anchors of thy hope.
 * * * * * * *
 In spite of rock and tempest roar
 In spite of false lights on the shore,
 Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea,
 Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee.
 Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
 Our faith, triumphant o’er our fears
 Are all with thee ! are all with thee !

Let us then, stimulated by the memories of the illustrious dead and the recollections of a glorious past, present the cheering spectacle of an enlightened people harmonious and powerful, standing by the rights of all, under one Constitution ; let us instill its principles into the minds of our children and bind our souls and theirs to the National Union. Then shall we offer an acceptable tribute to the memory of those who founded our Republic ; then shall we present a cheering example to other nations struggling to free themselves from the galling chains of oppression, and thus true to our whole country we may

“ Still crown her counsels with success
 With peace and joy her borders bless
 And all her sacred rights maintain.”





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